



President HO CHI MINH and President TON DUC THANG  
(July 1960)

## PRESIDENT TON DUC THANG IS EIGHTY-TWO

ON last August 20, 1970, on the 82nd birthday of President Ton Duc Thang, the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee, "on behalf of all the Vietnamese at home and abroad, conveyed its best wishes to the veteran revolutionary, a staunch and intimate comrade-in-arms of President Ho Chi Minh."

Referring to the North Vietnamese people's and armed forces' great achievements during the past year in executing President Ho Chi Minh's supreme wishes, the VNFFCC "fired by these successes, promised to President Ton Duc Thang to stimulate the whole people to follow them up, strengthen their unity around the Party and Government, enhance revolutionary zeal and speed up the patriotic emulation drive in the spirit of 'all for the victory over the US aggressors and for the successful building of socialism'."

CONGRATULATIONS to President Ton Duc Thang were also sent by the Viet Nam Federation of Trade Unions, the Ho Chi Minh Labour Youth Union, the Liaison Committee of Vietnamese Patriotic and Peace-loving Catholics and other mass organizations.

THE South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation Contra Committee, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces also wished President Ton Duc Thang many happy returns of the day.

## NOTHING IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM

(President HO CHI MINH's Statements)

VIET Nam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

Declaration of Independence,  
September 2, 1945

THE Vietnamese people do not want bloodshed, they love peace. But we are determined to sacrifice even millions of combatants, and fight a long-term war of resistance in order to safeguard Viet Nam's independence and free her children from slavery.

Speech delivered in the first days of the Resistance War in South Viet Nam,  
November 1945

NO! we would rather sacrifice all than lose our country, than be enslaved!

Com patriots! Rise up!

Men and women, old and young, regardless of creed, political parties or nationalities, all the Vietnamese will stand up to fight the French colonialists to save the Fatherland. Those who have rifles will use their rifles; those who have swords will use their swords, those who have no swords will use spades, hoes or sticks. Everyone must endeavour to oppose the colonialists and save his country.

Appeal to the entire people to wage the Resistance War.  
December 20, 1946

THE war may last another 5, 10, 20 years or longer. Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities, and enterprises may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom! Once victory is won, our people will rebuild our country and endow it with bigger and more beautiful constructions.

Appeal to the Nation,  
July 17, 1966

WE have defeated the war of destruction of the American imperialists in the North. But this is only an initial victory. The American imperialists are very odious and perfidious. They talk of "peace" and "negotiation" but still nurture dark aggressive designs. More than a million American, puppet and satellite troops are still daily committing untold crimes against our Southern compatriots.

Therefore, the sacred duty of our entire people at present is to stiffen our determination to fight and win, and our resolve to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve ultimate peaceful national reunification.

So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must continue our fight and wipe him out.

Appeal to the Nation,  
November 3, 1968

THE defeat of the US imperialists is already evident. Still they have not given up their evil design of clinging to the Southern part of our country. Our armed forces and people throughout the country, millions as one man, upholding revolutionary heroism and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, are determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till the complete withdrawal of US troops and till the total collapse of the puppet army and administration in order to liberate the South, defend the North and achieve ultimate peaceful reunification of the country.

Appeal on the occasion of  
July 20, 1969

THE resistance war against US aggression may drag on. Our compatriots may have to face new sacrifices in property and lives. Whatever may happen, we must keep firm our resolve to fight the US aggressors till total victory.

Our rivers, our mountains, our people will always be.  
The American aggressors defeated, we will build a country ten times more beautiful.

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## COMMUNIQUE ON COMMEMORATION OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S DEMISE

**T**he Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the DRVN and the President of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee, on Aug. 24 issued a joint communique on the commemoration of the first anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh's passing away (Sept. 3).

The Communique reads in full as follows:

"On September 3, 1969, President Ho Chi Minh, the great and venerated leader of our entire Party and people, departed from us. He devoted all his life to the revolutionary cause of the Party and the nation. He organized and led the August Revolution to success and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the first worker-peasant state in our country and in Southeast Asia. He led our people in extremely heroic resistance wars against the French colonialists in the past and the US imperialists at present, and in the highly successful socialist construction in North Viet Nam.

President Ho Chi Minh is no more, but he has left us a priceless legacy. Before departing, he made heartfelt recommendations to our entire Party, people and army in his historic Testament. Over the year that has passed, our entire Party, people and army, with boundless devotion and gratitude, have been doing their best to fulfill his last wishes and carry out the five pledges of honour he had taken to his memory.

As in the past, from now on our Party and people will observe May 19, his birthday, as the official homage-paying

day to his memory.

With regard to September 3 this year, the Party and Standing Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the Viet Nam Fatherland Front Central Committee's President will solemnly commemorate the first anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh's demise. That day, at all levels from the central down, leading organs of the Party and State and of mass organizations, will meet to pay tribute to President Ho Chi Minh, to review one year's results of the implementation of his last instructions and take effective measures to fulfill more satisfactorily all immediate tasks.

Our entire Party, people and army pledge to always draw enlightenment from the elevated thoughts and virtues of President Ho Chi Minh, resolutely carry out his supreme message, bend all their energies and efforts to inflict total defeat on the US aggressors and to build socialism successfully.

Our great President Ho Chi Minh's memory will be for ever associated with our cause!"

## A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO BULGARIA, THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, ALBANIA, HUNGARY

**O**n the evening of August 25, 1970 the National Assembly Standing Committee held a grand meeting in Hanoi to hail the delegation of the visit of the DRVN National Assembly headed by Hoang Van Hoan, member of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Politbureau, Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly Standing Committee, to four socialist countries—Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Albania and Hungary—from June 30 to July 29, 1970.

After the opening speech of Comrade Truong Chinh, member of the VNPW Politbureau, Chairman of the DRVN National Assembly Standing Committee, Comrade Hoang Van Hoan made a report on the results of the tour.

He pointed out that the visit had been a success and contributed to further strengthening the friendly relations and the time-honoured comradeship-in-arms between the Vietnamese people and those brother peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He said that importance was attached to the visit by the host countries and that "wherever the delegation went, it was warmly welcomed by the Government and Party leaders and their people, as comrades, companions-in-arms back from the front line with flying colours." Our friends' confidence and enthusiasm were increased by the Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese people's important successes in their national struggles which they considered their own, Heng Van Hoon said.

About the support for, and assistance to, the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggressors, for national salvation, he said, "All the Party and State leaders of the countries visited praised our heroic fight, supported the just position of the DRVN Government and that of the RSVN Government and at the same time expressed their resolve to continue their support and assistance to the Vietnamese

people's socialist building and anti-US struggle for national salvation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."

He also made it clear that the movements in support of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in the socialist countries had recently become unprecedented, nationwide ones of the masses. In the four countries visited, they had gained momentum in all respects. The press, radio, and TV there frequently released news of the Indochinese people's successes.

In Bulgaria many public trials of the US imperialists' schemes and war crimes had been staged by the people. East Germans zealously took part in the "A thousand bicycles for Viet Nam." "Ten thousand tons of potassium fertilizers for Viet Nam." "Electric power for Viet Nam." "A shipment for Viet Nam," and other drives. In Albania, the people were deeply aware of the momentous significance of the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggressors and of their international obligations towards Viet Nam. In Bulgaria, all social sections, rallied in the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, carried such support actions as exhibitions, selling stamps, extra-working-hours and a Viet Nam week, a Viet Nam month, etc.

The participants in the welcome meeting loudly cheered when Comrade Hoang Van Hoon reported the great achievements of the four host countries in socialist construction and in national defence and maintenance of peace.

In his closing speech, Comrade Truong Chinh expressed the Vietnamese people's sincere gratitude to the Parties, National Assemblies, Governments and peoples of the four brother countries for their wholehearted support and assistance until final victory for the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples in their struggle against US aggression, for national salvation.

## THE 3,360th US PLANE DOWNED ON NORTH VIET NAM

**T**he armed forces of Quang Ninh province, north-east of Hanoi, downed on August 23 an American pilotless scout, the 177th US aircraft knocked out of North Viet Nam skies since the US bombardment halt and the 3,360th since August 5, 1964.

The aircraft was shot down by anti-aircraft fire.

Sept. 2, 1945 Sept. 2, 1970

## The D.R.V.N. is 25 Years Old

**T**he origins of the Vietnamese theatre are very remote. After its heyday under the monarchy, it declined gradually in the nearly one hundred years of French rule and blossomed again after recovery of independence by the August 1945 Revolution.

For a quarter of a century, this growth has never slowed down; on the contrary it has continued within the framework of a general revival of letters and arts. The "Build up a national scientific and popular culture" line has set for our theatre a double task in its evolution: recover the national patrimony while assimilating the valuable acquisitions of progressive mankind.

Owing to its diversity (1) our drama, according to the kind, more or less thrives in such an evolution.

of the highlands. Amateur troupes fostered and helped by the state are operating even in the smallest villages and perform on festive occasions without prejudice to provincial or centrally-run troupes.

This is the outcome of a long practice.

Though it might seem unconceivable, it was in the darkest days of the Resistance war that our new theatre made its debut. Prompted by patriotism, actors and musicians fanned out in all directions of the countryside at the first gun report to help keep up the morale of the people and arouse their patriotism and illustrate the government directives in simple sketches.

The artists who belonged to these itinerant companies shared the hard life of the soldiers. With a knapsack

## THE EVOLUTION of Vietnamese Theatre

MAI VI  
Director, Department of Stage Art,  
Ministry of Culture

by the atrocities committed by the colonial troops. The plays would show how, with some courage and skill, one could capture brutal mercenaries armed to the teeth, how a village could defend itself against massacre and pillage, what the real purpose of such and such government directive was, etc.

A wonderful propaganda medium from simple means of distraction, the theatre quickly became a means of mass education. Popularization of guerrilla methods and support to mass drives, such as agrarian reform or the liquidation of illiteracy, hygiene lessons, were successfully carried out by the stage art.

In return, the political standard of the authors and artists was raised. Thanks to the resistance war, they were able to keep in close touch with the masses, shared

without the assistance and participation of the people.

After the re-establishment of peace in 1954, the foundations of a popular theatre were laid. We buckled down eagerly to its building when a naked aggression interrupted our efforts.

### A GRUELING TEST: US AGGRESSION

**U**S escalation which began in the DRVN in February 1965 with air and naval raids, was an occasion for our theatre to prove its great vitality.

The situation was rather gloomy. In fact, US bombardments were aimed at hamstringing all social activities and defence: everything (roads, river crossings, urban centres) was the target of US planes. For four years, barbarity was given free play against our country.

In the efforts of all our people to ward off a mortal danger, the theatre lived up to its vanguard role. Our friends abroad anxiously wondered whether we could keep up some theatrical activity and how by a miracle, could it take place at all. However, never has our stage art known such a boom as in those days of ruins and mourning. How can that apparently paradoxical thing be explained?

"Our songs will drown bomb explosives," said our artists. And this was not a propaganda slogan. Our theatrical troupes split into little teams and scoured the country on crater-dotted

roads to give brief performances even near AA gun sites; their lives constantly in jeopardy, actors and actresses would bring to the front the message from the rear and come back with new items in their packs. In the most dangerous spots, the performances took place underground. Sometimes they were disturbed by a B-52 raid on a locality nearby and sometimes the players, performing near an AA battery, had to take part in aircraft hunting, and resumed the show as soon as the enemy was off. Most of the time, they performed in huts for small audiences who would run to safety at the first alert and come out to attend the performance again. Sometimes when they returned, the makeshift stage had been destroyed, when eventually they had anticipated.

These facts reflect the state of mind of a whole people who accepted the US challenge with firm conviction that they would ultimately carry the day. When the losses and damage, however heavy they may be, are the price for national independence and freedom, there is no time for lamentations but just for a riposte.

In our country, the theatre is understood not as an art taken apart from contingency to amuse the idlers, but is the very instrument of that riposte, it is a sharp weapon to denounce the enemy's crimes and to glorify heroes in order to rouse the masses and stiffen their determination to fight and to win.

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## IN BRIEF

**T**he Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania Mohamed Ould Ali presented on August 25 his credentials to Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam Nguyen Luong Bang.

**A**t the invitation of the Patriotic People's Front and the National Peace Council of Hungary, a delegation of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front led by Nguyen Xuan Vien, member of the Front Presidium, paid on August 23 a friendship visit to Hungary and attended the commemoration of the 25th anniversary of founding of the DRVN.

**A** delegation of the Viet Nam Mongolia Friendship Association led by Nguyen Quang Xa, Vice-President of the Association, left Hanoi on Aug. 23 to attend the celebrations of the DRVN's 25th founding anniversary in Mongolia and pay a friendship visit to this country. The visit was made at the invitation of the Mongolia-Viet Nam Friendship Association.

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## Hanoi Meeting Supports US Black People

**A** meeting was held in Hanoi on August 22 on the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle for the US Black People (August 18) and in honour of the US People's Anti-imperialist Delegation and the Delegation of the New Mobilisation Committee to End the War in Viet Nam now visiting the DRVN.

It was jointly sponsored by the Viet Nam Asian-African Solidarity Committee, the Committee for Solidarity with the American People and the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

Addressing the gathering, Lawyer Phan Anh, President of the Viet Nam Lawyers' Association and Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Solidarity with the American People, acclaimed the just struggle of the Black People in the United States against the racist regime and repression of the American ruling circles and for freedom, equality and their legitimate rights.

He strongly condemned the Nixon administration's ruthless crackdown on US Black People and particularly the Black Panther Party. He demanded that the US ruling circles set free the leaders and members of the Party illegally detained by them.

Pointing to the friendship and militant solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the US Black People,

Phan Anh said: "The Vietnamese people always side and act together with the US Black People and firmly believe that with their tradition of courage and the sympathy and ever broader support of US White progressors, and the peace and freedom-loving peoples all over the world, the US Black People will certainly succeed in abolishing racism and

all obstacles and match any odds. "It is a fact that the struggle of the Vietnamese to expel the hateful enemy—the US imperialist murderers and mercenary troops—from the sacred territory of Viet Nam has given birth to a generation of revolutionaries inside the US itself."

He also castigated the US Vice-President S. Agnew's Asian trip as an attempt to further the US doctrine of making Asians fight Asians to get the US out of its quagmire.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution voicing full support to the legitimate struggle of the US Black People against the US ruling circles for freedom, equality and their lawful rights. It expressed full support to the Black Panther Party and its activities to rally the Black People in the battle for their legitimate rights. It severely condemned the barbarous crimes committed by the US ruling circles against the Black People and urged an end to racism, repression, and release of the illegally-detained Black People. It finally expressed sincere thanks to the US Black People for their inestimable support to the Vietnamese people's fight against US aggression.

**Eldridge Cleaver said:** "The epic and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people has greatly inspired and educated us to the fact that through a long, hard, persistent struggle, it is possible to overcome all difficulties, surmount

# THOSE UNFORGETTABLE DAYS

Reminiscences of General Vo Nguyen Giap

(Continued)

September 2, 1945.

HANOI was blazing with red. An immense forest of flags, lanterns and flowers. The house roofs, trees rows, lake surfaces, all were crimson with the national colours.

Slogans in Vietnamese, French, English, Chinese, Russian appeared all over the city. "Viet Nam to the Vietnamese." "Down with French colonialism." "Independence or death." "Support the Provisional Government." "Support President Ho Chi Minh." "Welcome the Allies", etc.

Factories, big and small shops were closed. Markets were empty. All trade and production activities were halted. The entire population of the capital, young and old, men and women, took to the streets. Everybody wanted to take part in the first day of great national rejoicing.

Colourful crowds from all parts of the city kept flocking into Ba Dinh Park.

The workers were dressed in blue denim and white shirts, brimming with strength and confidence. The women working in the factories were coming in, heads high, as masters of the land, masters of the country's destiny.

Hundreds of thousands of peasants were pouring in from the suburbs. Militiamen were carrying bluegowns, swords, scimitars, some even had bronze maces and ornamental daggers taken from temples. The women farmers were all decked out in their gala dresses, some were wearing yellow turbans, flapping slit tunics and light-green saddles. Never before had the peasants from the poverty-stricken villages around Hanoi felt so proud in coming to the city.

The old people looked solemn. The Hanoi girls were radiant in their bright coloured dresses.

The children were all in a flutter. Though belonging to different social segments, all of them had become little masters of an independent country. Flanked by monitors marking time with blows of whistle, they marched in step, wildly beating their drums and loudly singing revolutionary songs.

Buddhist bonzes and Catholic priests too had left their pagodas and churches and streamed in orderly groups to take part in the nation's grand day.

On that day the autumn sun shone with unusual splendour at Ba Dinh Square which had become a historic site. A guard of honour, standing at attention around a newly-built platform. The day before, the Liberation combatants, carrying out marching orders No 1 of the Insurrection Committee, had moved southwards from Tan Trao and "attacked enemy-occupied cities and important towns." Today, at the side of self-defence units made up of workers, young men and labouring people of the capital city, they were mounting guard over the Provisional Government.

After so many years in different parts of the world, condemned in absentia to death by the French colonial

ists, after being dragged through dozens of prisons and experiencing untold hardships, Uncle Ho, back in the fatherland, was now standing before one million fellow-countrymen. This history-making event only a few days before had still been a dream.

The three words Ho Chi Minh shortly afterwards were resounding through the crowd, baled with the usual legends surrounding famous people. But on that great day, that name was still new to most of his countrymen. Very few then knew that Uncle Ho was no other than comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc.



House No 48 in Hang Ngang Street, Hanoi, where President Ho Chi Minh stayed in August 1945 after his arrival from the Viet Bac revolutionary base

President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam appeared before the people like a leader whom the masses had so far known only by name. What people there saw was a thin old man with a broad forehead, bright eyes and a scanty goatee. He was wearing an old sun helmet, a khaki suit with a straight collar, and white rubber sandals.

A few days before the question had arisen of finding a suit for Uncle Ho to wear at the new government's presentation. He finally decided on the one described above. Later in his twenty-four years as Chief of State, on occasion of great national celebrations or during visits abroad, he kept the same modest suit unadorned by any decoration, just as when he first appeared before the people.

The "old man's" gait was brisk. This too for some people was surprising as they had expected the President to walk with the swaying steps of the way "great" people did. His accent was vaguely reminiscent of that of a region in Nghe An province.

Such was the first impression he made on one million fellow-countrymen.

He spoke in a calm, warm, laconic and distinct voice. There was in it no such grandiloquence as befits solemn occasions. But it was pregnant with deep feelings, a strong resolve and overflowing vitality; every sentence, every word went deep into the audience's hearts.

When he had read half of the Declaration of Independence, Uncle Ho suddenly stopped and asked:

"Fellow-countrymen, can you hear me all right?"

"Y-y-yes!"

From that moment onwards, Uncle Ho and the sea of people were one.

That was the Declaration of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam which had reconquered independence after a national exertion of eighty straight years. The words pronounced were coming from the bottom of the hearts of the most politically-conscious vanguard of the most revolutionary class, who had counted in their numbers men and women dedicated to the interests of the class and the people, who in face of the enemy's guillotine or firing squad had torn off their blindfolds, shouting: "Long live Viet Nam's independence!"

The ceremony was concluded with these independence pledges:

"We the entire people of Viet Nam swear: 'Resolutely to be behind the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, behind President Ho Chi Minh,'"

"We swear, 'Together with the Government, to safeguard the complete independence of the Fatherland against all aggressive schemes, even at the cost of our lives.'"

"If the French aggressors try to come back, we swear:

"Not to serve in the French army.

"Not to work for the French,

"Not to feed foodstuffs to them,

"Not to act as guides for them!"

A million people with only one thought, a million beings with only one voice. Those were the oaths of the entire people who were determined to carry out what President Ho Chi Minh had read in the concluding part of the Declaration of Independence:

"Viet Nam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Viet Namese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty."

"The indictment against the French colonial regime" had been written thirty years before. But only today is this regime appearing before the tribunal of the entire Vietnamese people.

A new page of history had been written. A new era had begun: the era of Independence, Freedom, Happiness.

THE old banian of our native hamlet has been felled: it has been sacrificed to broaden the road leading to the village. That old banian that has vanished from the landscape has taken away with it a big chunk of my childhood, but with that road, which is being widened, a dream, which I have nurtured for some forty years, is coming true.

When I was a child, at sunset we used to go and sit at the foot of that banian to enjoy the cool evening breeze, after the heat of the day. The banian was more of a building than a tree. It took eight or ten of us children to girdle its enormous trunk, gnarled and furrowed. Its branches, bigger

would slip between fragrant ears of rice to catch grasshoppers with golden mandibles and, threading a stem of rice under the "catkins" covering the husks, we would bring home whole "shekers" full of them. When the land, dry and cracked, bore no crop, the wind, when rice seedlings had been transplanted, we would sit at the foot of the banian and watch with fascinated eyes the glimmering fields and the rows of young plants stretching as far as the horizon and quivering under the caress of the wind. When the neighbouring river overflowed, the plain was

In winter, we would sit up late peeling and cutting areca nuts. Sitting around big bamboo trays under a paraffin lamp hanging from the ceiling, we would talk animatedly while processing the nuts. Sometimes late in the night, conversations would die down and everybody would feel sleepy, when someone said, "Ong Chan, please recite something!" His goatee quivering with contentment, Ong Chan would wait for us to twist a bit more; and then would begin clearing his throat. A hush fell, and in the still of the night, the old man would tell us in his singing voice the misfortunes of beautiful Kieu, whose beauty filled flowers with envy and whose talents outshone those of all

Mandarin. "I was deeply shocked and angered by the money spent on processions to please for vain from the Ban Kieu, or try to appease the Chola Genie, and by the practice of 'curing' illnesses with joss-stick ashes or holy water from temples. When my father ordered me to put on a turban to go to the village hall and attend ceremonies in honour of genies, it was a real torture. After endless rituals, the village notables sat down to a banquet, and pulled each other's hair, and the men still wore their hair in a bun. Each wanted at all costs to bring home the head of the chicken served at the meal, for this would be a treasurable proof, in the eyes of his wife, children and neighbours, that he was the top man. No film had ever been shown in the village. No one knew anything about electricity, sports, machines. And how many times I had seen young girls of fifteen, my cousins, weeping and crying when forced to marry when they had never seen before!"

Of the outside world, people knew only one thing: taxes had to be paid to the French who, it seemed, had yellow hair and hooked noses. It was whispered that recalcitrant villages had been razed to the ground by those French, whose power was irresistible.

How often, sitting at the foot of the banian and listening to the eerie music of the wind in its foliage, I had dreamt of broadening the roads, clearing the ponds, combating superstitions, suppressing that set of drunken and quarrelsome notables, and abolishing forced marriages!

But in those times, the only thing I could do was dream. Of course I knew my village like the back of my hand. I knew every hollow on the edge of the village pond where fish would slip in to sleep at dusk and where I could catch them. I could recognize, at its barking, every dog in every house, and my young friend told me everything happening in their families.

Yet, I had to wait until the land reform and the distribution of land to the peasants before the reality of my village was driven home to me. The curtain dropped, and now I could see what was going on behind the scene. Those rice fields which we used to plant trees, and seasons passed were our ricefields, those of my family and my clan. We were the owners of the fields and therefore the masters of the village. Formerly I had naively believed that the honourableness of my family was due to the scholarly achievements of my father, a worthy disciple of the Great Master: Confucius. I did not know that those men who did the harvesting while I was hunting grasshoppers, who were pulling the stone roller over our drying-yard under a scorching sun, who were floundering in the muddy bottom of

the fish-pond — were farmhands of my family. I did not know that those people who had been tending rice in the year round had to add tubers to rice for their meals at home. I did not know that at the end of an exhausting day scooping out the water of a well-stocked pond, they were allowed to take home to their wives and children only some small fry which they sold for a catfish. I did not know that when Ong Chan came to our house to peel areca nuts and recite verses about the misfortunes of beautiful Kieu, he was not paid because it was one of his obligations as tenant farmer to do so. I knew that when we were happily sailing over the flooded fields, or racing behind our kites on drought-cracked soil, the hearts of the village pools were gripped by anguish and that they were about to come to our house to borrow rice and money, which they would have to repay at the next harvest at twice that amount.

Since then I have stopped dreaming. The tortuous, excitement-strewn paths, the superstitions, the disputes between notables, the forced marriages — all those things have disappeared or are about to disappear, for land rents and unvarious interest rates have vanished and ricefields have been distributed to those who had none. My family has lost all its ricefields, but my childhood recollections have come true, one after another.

Roads have been broadened, where wheelbarrows and carts have appeared. Bicycles have multiplied. Each man has now got his newspaper, but the hamlet's co-operative has a collection of books and has subscribed to reviews and journals. The wind is no longer playing its weird music in the foliage of the old banian, but on moonlit nights one hears the singing of young people. Heated discussions no longer take place about a chicken's head, but about the ways to transplant rice, make ploughs, dig irrigation canals, or set up a kindergarten. Now just try and force a young girl to marry a man she does not love!

I feel no regret for the banian of my childhood. Each year, when Tet came and the peasants took time off from their work in the fields, President Ho Chi Minh used to plant trees, and everywhere in the country, young and old followed his example. Our villages will be much greener than formerly.

In the old days, I would have refused if a foreign friend had asked me to take him on a visit to my village, lest he would have seen the piles of rubbish at the market place, the drunken notables and the child marriages. But now, I heartily invite him from the "four oceans" to visit my village, our villages.

NGUYEN KHAC VIEN



The DRVN is 25 Years Old

## THE OLD BANIAN



even than the pillars of the village pagoda, rose so high in the sky that we could hardly see the big green leaves amid its leaves. From the ground, like angry snakes, roots emerged—twisted, hotly, wrinkled.

The wind coming from the fields played a strange music in the depths of its foliage, and, above our heads, we thought we heard sighing and smirking, laughter and moans. Before our eyes, the rippling rice rippled in the evening breeze. The croaking of frogs heralded the coming of the night while, along meandering paths, bulbulas were coming back in their heavy, slow and swinging gait, with half-maked children perched on their backs. The shadows of their horns lengthened over the drowsy fields.

With the passing of the seasons, the ricefields underwent changes in colour and odour. During the summer harvest we

turned into an immense lake and we would happily row our sampans to visit relatives in other villages.

At harvest time, the rice was spread over the great brick-paved drying-yard adjoining our house. Men would harvest themselves to a heavy stone roller and pull it for days over that yard overhated by the summer sun. Sweat trickled down their naked trunks. As for us, we were plunged into an arid world of dust, the smell of the new rice, the summer heat and the continuous drone of the stone roller crushing the stems.

The rice brought in, it was time to dress the fish-pond. At dawn, men began working the scoops, dipping water out into the neighbouring fields. Towards late afternoon, the muddy bottom of the pond at last emerged, teeming with fish, and plopp, plopp, we would jump onto it, yelling with joy. With mud up to our navels, we would catch fish by the handful and throw them into baskets, which women would carry to the house. Dusk fell at the pond was wholly emptied, and when we came back, the shares of fish were being disposed by the women in a corner of the yard. Now, nearly forty years later, I can still see in my mind's eye the fish shining in the dusk and smell the odour of carp and catfish and hear the whispering of women discussing the allotment of portions.

How I loved my village! It was not like a town where each man lived by himself. Here everyone knew everyone else. The children played together in bands of several dozens. At the ancestors' temple, people got together on festival days. I could go and visit an uncle or an aunt living several miles away and stay for several days without my parents worrying in the least. For the building of a house, everybody would be there, and we children would romp about, trying the saws, mixing mortar and rolling in sand and wood shavings. In the evening, when the moon shone, we would gather at crossroads and watch wrestling matches: brawny fellows, and in a loin-cloth, grappled with each other and tried to fling their adversaries to the ground to everyone's hearty applause. Festivities succeeded festivities: ancestors' anniversaries, processions in honour of the village genies, weddings, funerals — everything was going on, getting together, gossiping, discussing, gambling and eating.

Independence and freedom had come to each citizen. Everyone was aware of the sacred value of the newly-won rights, and the responsibility to defend them. Hosts of difficulties still lay ahead. But for the imperialists seeking to regain their lost paradise, everything would not be so easy as it used to be.

Recorded by HUO MAI

VIENT NAM COURIER

VIENT NAM COURIER



## SAMDECH HEAD OF STATE NORODOM SIHANOUK ISSUES APPEALS TO KHMER INTELLECTUALS

**S**AMDECH Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea sent on August 18, 1970 a special message to the intellectuals in the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak regime to rise up against the US imperialists, their henchmen, break away from the traitors Lon Nol - Sirik Matak regime and join the National United Front of Kampuchea.

The message said:

"YOU, who have the 'title' of intellectuals, are supposed to have a high cultural standard and the ability to think, meditate and toil white from black and black from white..."

Look at the present plight of our country: it is a prey to the dogs of war unleashed by Lon Nol and Sirik Matak by their US masters and their sub-masters in Bangkok and Saigon who do not show the least restraint in oppressing, plundering, robbing, raping and killing our fellow-countrymen in the provinces and countryside and in razing our villages, forests, fields and cities, with the exception of Phnom Penh to allow the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique to have a 'fief' to carry out exploitation in complete tranquility.

Faced with such a situation, you should have the courage to "consult" your conscience, ask whether you are acting as Khmers worthy of the name, that is to say, as Khmers who are not renegades, as Indochinese who are not renegades, as sons and daughters of the people loyal to them.

Can you really give credence to the propaganda of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique when it states that President Nixon and the US grant extravagant sums of US dollars to the Thieu-Ky and to Lon Nol - Sirik Matak cliques, out of their "love" for the "yellow race" of Viet Nam and Cambodia?

Does your conscience tell you that US imperialism has a different nature from that of European colonialism at whose hands, for example, the Khmers, Lao and Vietnamese still suffered not long ago?

According to the propaganda of Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Sim Var, Douc Rasy and Trinh Hoshn, the armed intervention in Cambodia ordered by Nixon was prompted by the "friendship" and "affection" of the [white] Americans feel for the [yellow or brown] Khmer people.

Can your conscience believe that when the B-52s, F-105s, Phantoms of Nixon, Thien-Ky, Bangkok rain thousands upon thousands of tons of bombs and napalm on our provinces, districts, villages and cities, and even on our sacred temples of Angkor?

The patriotic Khmer people have a conscience that does not juggle with real facts.

You, intellectuals in the service of Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, take fright easily because their propaganda asserts that communism is the mortal enemy of the Khmers. You do not want to open your eyes to reality, in particular to the reactionary nature of people like Lon Nol and the enormous and ill-gotten fortunes of such individuals as Sirik Matak and Songkadd.

You should ask your conscience what Lon Nol and Sirik Matak are really defending: their own interests or those of the people? When they send to the war, to death, tens of thousands of young recruits?

The message refuted the slanders of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique against the Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and condemned the Phnom Penh reactionaries' heinous crimes of bringing in US and Saigon puppet troops to trample upon the Cambodian territory over the past four months.

It pointed to the repeated military setbacks of the Lon Nol - Sirik Matak clique which had forced them to beg for "support" from the US imperialists, the Saigon puppet troops to trample upon the Cambodian territory over the past four months.

It laid bare the policy of "making Asians fight Asians of the Nixon" administration which is allowing the Saigon puppet administration and the Thai reactionaries to set up in Phnom Penh a "common protectorate."

(Continued page 7)

## ENEMY LOSSES from August 3 to 13

- 950 Men Put Out of Action, 2 Battalions Decimated,
- 30 Vehicles Destroyed, 4 Aircraft Downed.

**T**HE Cambodian patriotic armed forces won important battles between August 3 and 13, AKI agency reported.

On August 3 at Krek, 110 km east-northeast of Phnom Penh, and near the Viet Nam - Cambodia frontier, in 5 localities they put out of action 185 Saigon puppet troops and 27 vehicles (12 M-113s).

On August 5 and 6, they inflicted 140 casualties on the Saigon invading units at Kompong Rau, in the "Parrot Peak" and downed a jet fighter-bomber.

On August 8, Lon Nol troops suffered heavy reverses: one at Kralanh, an important centre on Road No 6, 30 km west-northwest of Siemreap; 300 men were killed or wounded, 14 others captured, a great quantity of weapons and war materials seized.

## FUNK's Central Committee Meets

**T**HE Bureau of Head of State Norodom Sihanouk has made public a press communique on the meeting of the Central Committee of the National United Front of Kampuchea, AKI reported.

Held on August 20 and 21, it was presided over by Samdech Penh North, Chairman of the Political Bureau of the FUNK's Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

The Central Committee of the FUNK, the communique said, passed a political report submitted by its chairman on the great and all-round successes of the Front since the founding of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

It pointed out that at present the Cambodian Liberation Armed Forces have completely liberated over two-thirds of the Cambodian territory with more than 2,800,000 inhabitants. The R. Government of National Union of Cambodia has been recognized by 23 countries and national liberation movements.

## New Comedy in Phnom Penh:

## Prosecution of NURG Members by Lon Nol - Sirik Matak Clique

**A** statement issued on August 17, 1970 by the National Union of Cambodia said that after staging their "Military court" and sentencing to death Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, on July 5, 1970, the Phnom Penh quislings, lackeys of US

(Continued page 7)

## The Evolution OF VIETNAMESE THEATRE

(Continued from page 3)

Of course, the stage patronage frees theatrical troupes from financial cares, and helps the success of such an orientation, but a play cannot be staged if it has no connection with the national war, for it will be rejected by the public. Nowadays, the Vietnamese do not go to the theatre to hear the actors' grievances or get lost in more or less metaphysical and trite themes, but to replenish their strength in an invigorating bath in view of future battles.

One of the signs of the time, our theatre does not content itself with this passive role. It contributes to make this epoch, to bring nearer a victory which is left in no doubt. There are on the stage no other subjects than those helping David to knock down Goliath in an unequal fight, no other themes than patriotism, gallantry, indomitableness, perseverance, sacrifice, loyalty, industry, the sense of honour.

It would be wrong to take a reasoned option for an alienation or a schematic view. The inextinguishable wealth of these themes has been thoroughly exploited in their present contents as well as in their historical perspectives. While such contemporary heroes as Nguyen Van Troi and others are represented, historical figures are not neglected. Tran Hung Dao, the national hero who defeated the Yuans in the 13th century, and Quang Trung, who obliterated the Ching in 1789, are also often acted on the stage.

The present revolutionary heroism is not only translated into physical or moral courage in face of the enemy. It occurs in everyday life. The country woman who takes the place of her husband gone to the front (Harvest), the fisherman who braves enemy strafing (Sea), the old woman who deceits the enemy to protect the fighters (The Tri-Thien Mother), the mother who

forsakes her son exempted from military service (At the Workshop), the militia girl who helps a soldier to rejoin his unit (On the Road to the Front), the lad who joins up without his mother's consent (We Go and Face the Enemy), the co-op farmers who go on working to the theatre to hear the actors' grievances or get lost in more or less metaphysical and trite themes, but to replenish their strength in an invigorating bath in view of future battles.

The behaviour of theatre-goers also astonishes foreign visitors. In Haiphong, dispersed by an alert, the whole audience thronged back and demanded that the performance be resumed when the enemy planes were gone. In another locality, the collapse of buildings in an air raid was unable to interrupt a show nearby, the attendance having refused to scatter. These were cases of neither unconsciousness nor madness, nor an act of faith, but only normal manifestations of daily heroism which the frenzy of the Pentagon was impatient to check. This, in the thick of the air raids on Hanoi on December 13 and 14, 1966, one could read on the bills displayed in the city: *Kieu Nguyet Nga*, a play adapted from the novel in verse by Nguyen Dinh Chieu, and *Be Me Ben Song Hong* (The Mother on the Red River Bank), a play in the first Indochina war.

Our theatre has become victorious of the terrible ordeal thanks to the joint efforts of artists and public. But such devotion and sense of sacrifice would have been futile if it were not for the Party's line for which we wanted to show our gratitude by organizing the 1970 Theatrical Festival.

## THE 1970 FESTIVAL

**T**HIS "For anti-US struggle and socialism" festival took place in

three cities: Vinh, capital of Nghe An province just rebuilt from its ruins, Nam Dinh, a textile city hard hit by air raids, and Haiphong, the heroic port-city. 34 plays were entered and performed in all well-known styles by thousands of artists from all localities. The participation of national minorities was particularly noted. That impressive theatrical event held in commemoration of the 40th founding anniversary of the Party, the 25th birthday of the DRVN and the 10th birth anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh has thrown a bright light on the tremendous vitality of the country after an atrocious war. Above the themes treated, there prevails the unanimous will of our people who would rather make every sacrifice than accept the ignominy of a new bondage and live with a degrading compromise. We have discharged and are discharging our duty to the South by assisting it by every means in its heroic fight against US aggression. We work with might and main to complete socialist construction in the North under the clearheaded leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. And that is the message our theatre wishes to send to the world, a message of friendship, optimism and self-confidence, the very image of our struggle.

## TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

81st Plenary Session of Paris Conference  
on Viet Nam (August 27, 1970)

## "The Nixon Administration Must End Its Aggression Policy," Mr Nguyen Minh Vy Urges

**M**R NGUYEN MINH VY, (August 17 and 23). He urged that to stop the Viet Nam war, to find a way out for the Paris Conference and to secure a stable peace in Viet Nam and Indochina the Nixon Administration must put an end to its aggressive policy.

## In Brief

(Continued from page 3)

**A**N exhibition of paintings on Viet Nam by Jorge Rigol, a Cuban painter, was held in Hanoi on August 1. The display was organized to mark the 17th anniversary of the Cuban people's armed insurrection and the brilliant record recently set by the Cuban people in sugar production.

**A**T a grand meeting in Hanoi on August 12. Hoang Quoc Viet, chief of the DRVN delegation to the World TU Conference of Solidarity with the Indochinese Peoples convened recently in Versailles, made a report on the results of the conference. The participants hailed the successes of this manifestation of strong support granted to the Indochinese peoples' struggle for liberation by the world proletariat.

**T**HE eight precincts and districts forming the administrative area of Hanoi have now each a pediatric clinic. Each clinic has two five pediatricians. Moreover all twenty municipal consultation rooms have pediatricians in their staffs.

**I**N last August a competition for table-tennis championship of the DRVN was held in Hanoi for adolescents. The winner was a schoolboy of thirteen, after a bitter match. Among the 110 competitors coming from all provinces of North Viet Nam, many were highlanders of ethnic minorities who formerly never practised any sports.

**A** display of Vietnamese school articles has held Hanoi public attention. Among over 2,000 entries, two-thirds were made by teachers, pupils or staffs of different schools in North Viet Nam.

**I**N mid-August the peasants of the DRVN finished on schedule the transplanting of autumn rice seedlings. Many provinces have surpassed the target. Other farm-works have begun.

## Prosecution of NURG Members...

(Continued from page 6)

imperialism and the Saigon and Bangkok regimes, are now prosecuting by the same tribunal the FUNK leaders, especially members of the National Union Royal Government of Cambodia.

The statement went on: "In any way, no manoeuvre can shake the will of all the FUNK leaders and members in their sacred struggle for national salvation. Despite all sacrifices the Cambodian people, led by the FUNK, will fight till final and complete victory."



## Saigon Troops' Presence in Laos Revealed

**I**N face of strong public protest the Americans and their Saigon stooges have vainly tried to deny Saigon troops' presence in Lower Laos, KPL reported.

Of August 19 AP, in a dispatch from Saigon, revealed that scouts (of the puppet Saigon army) had crossed the Laos frontier. Also according to AP, half of the patrol had been airborne to the southern part of the "panhandle" to spot targets

for U.S. bombers.

The U.S. military spokesman in Saigon has stated that he "is quite unaware of the transport of Saigon [puppet] troops to Laos by American copters," although five US helicopters had been grounded in Lower Laos during the past three weeks, AP went on reporting, adding that the [puppet] troops in patrol sent to Laos had been picked out among mercenaries trained by US "special forces"

and paid by the CIA. The patrols have carried out operations on the other side of the camps of the "special forces," near the Laos border.

AP has thus given a slap in the faces of the US imperialists and their valets in Saigon who tried to conceal the illegal introduction of South Viet Nam puppet troops into Saravane province in Lower Laos.

## SAMDECH HEAD OF STATE...

(Continued from page 6)

"Our Khmer people know," the message went on, "what the nature of US imperialism and capitalism is like. They (US imperialists - Ed.) do not 'love' you. On the contrary, they have utter contempt for you. Although they sometimes hide this for 'tactical reason,' they have nothing but scorn and loathing for Asian traitors and others who surrender their countries for the US imperialists to establish their 'empire' there."

The message stressed that the Khmer peasants regard the Vietnamese as their brothers and friends. They neither are taken in by the hostile propaganda of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique against the Vietnamese people nor confuse these with the Thieu-Ky puppet clique.

It said that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of the FUNK has won wholehearted support from the great majority of the Cambodian people and has laid firm foundations in the liberated areas.

After denouncing the corruption of the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique and the savage crimes committed by the Saigon puppet troops against the Cambodian people, the message recalled the great successes of the Cambodian people's liberation armed forces which are growing rapidly in every respect.

"If you join the FUNK," the message concluded, "you will avoid being branded as traitors to the Fatherland. Your names and those of your families will then be honoured as those of patriots, heroes and heroines of the national liberation."

## MILITARY OPERATIONS

### ON THE MEEKONG DELTA

— A series of PLAF attacks co-ordinated with the local people's uprisings in the provincial and almost all district capitals of *Ben Tre*: 300 adverse casualties, enemy away in nearly 40 "strategic hamlets" shattered (night of August 12 and next day)

— Airport of *Vinh Long* provincial capital pounded: 120 enemy specialists killed or wounded, 12 aircraft destroyed on the ground.

### IN THE SAIGON BATTLEFIELD

— In *Nai Mat* region, north-west of Saigon, 1,200 enemy troops and over 270 military vehicles put out of action (July 15-August 8).

— On the *Vam Co Dong* river, an enemy military convoy of rivercraft ambushed: 5 sunk, 30 puppet casualties.

— 7 km south of *Hoa Chau*, Binh Long province, a company of civil guards wiped out, 15 agents of "pacification" team liquidated, a dozen fortifications overrun.

### SOUTH OF 17TH PARALLEL

— In *Coc Bai*, south-west of Quang Tri province, and *Tu Han*, north-west of Hue, 250 puppet troops of the 1st Regiment knocked out (August 15-17).

— In the coastal areas, south and east of Quang Tri province, over 300 adverse troops and 10 armoured cars put out of action, and 2 choppers downed (August 12-14).

— In *Hue* city, 50 puppet thugs killed or wounded (August 15), a span of *Trang Tien* bridge seriously damaged (August 3), all traffic through it brought to a halt for the whole of August 4.

### IN CENTRAL VIET NAM

— Fuel and military equipment depots in *Khanh Hoa* province set ablaze by the PLAF in Cam Ranh peninsula (August 6).

— One hundred men of the 5th Infantry Battalion and the 2nd Artillery Battalion of the puppet Brigade B wiped out in PLAF actions on Hills 305 and 570, 50 km south-west of *Quang Nam* provincial capital (August 6-8).

### IN HIGH PLATEAUX

— A company of puppet regular forces, a unit of "pacification" and a part of civil guards decimated, 8 tanks and armed cars blasted out of commission and a copier grounded in 6th District of *Gia Lai* province (August 17 and 18).



PLAF artillerymen on their way to the front

## ANTI-U.S. FEELING RISES IN SOUTH VIET NAM SAY U.S. PAPERS

AMERICAN papers recently admitted that "anti-American feeling" was rising in South Viet Nam.

The *Washington Daily News* editorially said on August, "It's disturbing news that the U.S. Embassy in South Viet Nam has warned its staff against travelling alone in Saigon. The reason? Acts of violence against Americans by students and other anti-government types."

"The Embassy advised use of the 'buddy system' of travelling in pairs and suggested that employees always inform someone of their whereabouts..."

"We believe there is a rise in anti-American feeling in Saigon, that's an appalling situation..."

"There are plenty of people in this country who are fed up with the Viet Nam war and would seize on anti-Americanism in Saigon to demand instant troop withdrawal."

According to *Reuter* (August 15), posters reading "Americans go home" appeared in Saigon, "that the streets of Saigon. The posters also called for immediate peace and the resignation of Nguyen Van Thieu."

*Reuter* also reported that the poster calling for Thieu's resignation and U.S. troop withdrawal was put up by a slate of 10 former officers and servicemen of the Saigon army who are running for the "Senate" this month. Beside the posters urging peace were many with the slogans: "Down with corruption," "Land reform and social revolution" and "Food and clothes for the people."

In an article in the *New York Times* quoted by *USIS* on August 13, Laurence Stern wrote:

"An appearance of uneasy quiet has settled over the capital (Saigon - Ed.) which has been agitated for months by demonstration of students, Buddhists and veterans with reasonings of police tear gas."

"Americans at dinner parties talk warily of 'growing anti-Americanism.'"

South Vietnamese behave toward most Americans with a curious mixture of dependency, muted resentment or outright hostility.

Anti-Americanism is, in fact, and has long been a fashionable style of political address - especially for the fragmented and impotent opposition to President Thieu's administration. Even within the government one hears echoes of resentment.

"We are obliged to check out all our important actions with the American

mission," one Thieu high official confided, "naturally we don't like this. But these are the facts of life for us at present..."

A prominent anti-government politician took a similar note: "Anti-Americanism here is not directed against the ordinary American people but against the involvement of U.S. forces in Viet Nam and the involvement of the US Embassy in Vietnamese affairs," he said.

One opposition leader went so far as to suggest that "If the Americans withdraw their own the troops, we would have no reason to continue their fighting."

"All this may resound upon the American ear as ingratitude, naïveté or inscrutable Asian perversity. But from the standpoint of the Saigonese who have been, by and large, passive agents in the war there is a pattern of logic to their feelings."

"Prices continue to rise and the cruellest impact of the widely inflationary Vietnamese economy... falls on workers and salaried classes, the civil servants and teachers who could be the greatest forces for cohesion in Vietnamese urban society."

"Every day, the Vietnamese on the streets of Saigon are confronted with the enormous disparities between their own style of subsistence and that of the Americans who emerge from the US commissary with bundles of meat and canned goods or the Americans who spend the equivalent of a Vietnamese teacher's monthly earnings on a *Tu Do* Street girl."

"Here is a sense, under Saigon's glass surface these days, of enormous social discontents simmering within the Vietnamese silent majority, of war, high prices, instability."

"For an American who walks the streets of Saigon by day or by night it is an uncomfortable presence."

## Continued Popular Protest against Saigon Rule

In the second half of August the South Viet Nam public attention was still focused on U.S. puppet penitentiary regime.

In the wake of American writer Don Luce's revelations on "The Tiger Cages in Con Son" (Poulo Condor) and the state-tempest on the same subject by two US Congressmen - Augustus F. Hawkins and William K. Anderson - Nguyen Van Loi, a spokesman of the Saigon General Association of Students, at a press conference held in Saigon on August 10 accused the Thieu Ky Khien clique of continuing to furiously build many new "tiger cages" instead of demolishing the existing ones in Poulo Condor as it had pledged publicly to do. Loi had been put in a "tiger cage" for six months on end on the "devil's island." A girl-mate of his, who had just escaped from it, had told that the Saigon ruling

circles had built a lot of new "tiger cages," under the assuming name of "tiger cages," far away from the principal jail to shirk the attention of investigators. Besides, there existed many other "secret cages" to confine those who had led anti-puppet movements.

The detainees in Chi Hoa prison on August 17, 1970 staged a demonstration by shouting in union protests against the harsh prison regime, oppression and terror. On the night of August 20 the Thieu Duc prison inmates, male and female, went on a sit-down strike against the atrocious penitentiary regime and for better treatment. On August 24 they once more rose up to demand release for 108 persons still jailed in Poulo Condor and abolition of separate cells to which many of their fellow-detainees had been sent and never heard of again.

Meanwhile the South Vietnamese students' action kept rising.

On August 13 and 14 thousands of Saigon students indignantly set fire to two military bureaux of the Faculty of Letters and the Faculty of Medicine and to military files of Phu Tho Technical Centre to protest the military drill imposed upon them. The Saigon General Association of Students on August 17 decided to boycott the military training courses and called on students to resume their school boycott until the puppet authorities cancelled their decision.

On August 21 thirty representatives of thousands of pharmacy students called a 24-hour hunger-strike. The next day they declared an indefinite school strike and renunciation of their examinations.